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SECRET

## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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RELEASED IN FULL

PRT: BASS BERGER LAKE SENS  
SIT: LAKEA SUM SUM2 WHSR\_SPECIAL

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> SECRET <DTG> 041227Z SEP 95

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4506  
RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE  
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE  
RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE 0716  
RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO ////  
S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 ATHENS 007875

NODIS DECAPTIONED

EYES ONLY FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY,  
SECRETARY FERRY, TONY LAKE, AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT,  
GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI

FROM DICK HOLBROOKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, SR, BK  
SUBJECT: BELGRADE TALKS

1. SECRET -- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. AFTER SOME FIFTY HOURS OF DISCUSSIONS WITH  
MILOSEVIC AND COUNTLESS HOURS WITH SACIRBEY AND HIS  
FELLOW BOSNIANS, MY COLLEAGUES AND I WISH TO SHARE  
WITH YOU THE FOLLOWING STRONGLY HELD VIEW:  
WHILE WE HAVE CREATED A PUBLIC IMPRESSION OF  
PROGRESS, WHICH IS ALSO USEFUL IN CREATING PRESSURE  
FOR GENUINE MOVEMENT, WE HAVE MADE VIRTUALLY NO  
HEADWAY ON THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES DIVIDING THE  
ADVERSARIES. NEITHER SIDE HAS SHOWN ANY WILLINGNESS  
TO COMPROMISE ON THE CORE ISSUES, ESPECIALLY THE  
POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL ONES.

3. BOTH SARAJEVO AND BELGRADE WILL HAVE TO SHOW A  
FLEXIBILITY THEY HAVE SO FAR RESISTED. WE DO NOT  
BELIEVE THAT RHETORIC AND VERBAL PRESSURE WILL BE  
SUFFICIENT TO ACHIEVE THIS. THEREFORE, WE HAVE  
CONCLUDED THAT A RESUMPTION OF THE BOMBING TONIGHT  
IS AN ESSENTIAL COMPONENT OF OUR NEGOTIATING

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REVIEW AUTHORITY: Robert Homme, Senior Reviewer

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STRATEGY. WE RECOGNIZE - AND INDEED I WILL CONTINUE TO ASSERT PUBLICLY - THAT THE BOMBING HAS NOT DESIGNED FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT HAS, RATHER, A NECESSARY RESPONSE TO THE OUTRAGEOUS ATTACK IN SARAJEVO. BUT ITS VALUE IN BOTH BELGRADE AND SARAJEVO IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY CLEAR.

4. THIS IS NOT A RECOMMENDATION FOR A LINEBACKER-TYPE CAMPAIGN. INDEED, THERE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY COME A TIME WHEN, FROM A POLITICAL/DIPLOMATIC POINT OF VIEW, SUSPENDING THE BOMBING WILL BE MORE USEFUL THAN CONTINUING IT. BUT THAT TIME IS DEFINITELY NOT TODAY.

5. OF COURSE, IF MLADIC GIVES US EVERYTHING JANVIER REQUESTS TODAY WE MAY HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO STOP. BUT ANYTHING SHORT OF FULL- REPEAT, FULL - COMPLIANCE SHOULD BE REJECTED. AND THAT IS THE MOST LIKELY COURSE PALE WILL TAKE TODAY - OFFERING ABOUT SEVENTY-FIVE PERCENT OF THE JANVIER DEMANDS AND TRYING TO PROLONG THE PAUSE.

6. WHY DO WE TAKE SUCH A POSITION? FIRST, SARAJEVO. THIS IS FAIRLY OBVIOUS. THE FLEXIBILITY WE NEED FROM SARAJEVO ON VARIOUS ISSUES REQUIRES MORE THAN VERBAL PRESSURE. BOMBING HELPS US; ITS ABSENCE STIFFENS THEIR FRACTIOUS POLITICAL PROCESS. THIS IS NOT THEORY; WE HAVE HAD AMPLE ANECDOTAL EVIDENCE OF IT.

7. BELGRADE IS MORE COMPLICATED, BUT THE CONCLUSION IS THE SAME. MILOSEVIC RAISES THE BOMBING FREQUENTLY AS AN IMPEDIMENT TO PROGRESS AND SOMETHING THAT COULD MAKE PALE MORE INTRANSIGENT. AT THE SAME TIME, HE HAS YET TO INVEST THIS ISSUE WITH THE SAME DEGREE OF EMOTION OR HIGH RHETORIC THAT MARKS HIS COMMENTS ON, SAY, KARADJIC'S CRAZINESS, SANCTIONS RELIEF, OR THE FUTURE BALKAN ECONOMIC ZONE. HIS HIGHLY THEATRICAL (AND FREQUENT) TRIPS UPSTAIRS TO TELEPHONE MLADIC - AND LAST NIGHT, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OUR PRESENCE, (HE SAID) KARADJIC - ARE NOT SIMPLY THEATRE; HIS FRUSTRATION WITH MLADIC IS GROWING VISIBLY AND HE NOW FREELY ADMITS THAT THE GENERAL, WHOM I BELIEVE HE'S SCARED OF, IS A MAJOR OBSTACLE TO HIS GOALS AS WELL AS OURS. (HE FLIRTED WITH THE IDEA OF OUR MEETING MLADIC FACE-TO-FACE TODAY TO MAKE CLEAR THE U.S.

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POSITION, BUT EVEN BEFORE IT BECAME APPARENT THAT MLADIC WOULD NOT COME TO BELGRADE YET, WE HAD MADE CLEAR THAT WE WERE NOT GOING TO BECOME AN INTERMEDIARY IN THE JANVIER-MLADIC CHANNEL.)

8. MOST IMPORTANTLY, MILOSEVIC HAS NOT YET LINKED THE BOMBING TO ANY OTHER ISSUE - GENEVA, SANCTIONS, THE MAP, ETC. HE MAY DO SO LATER, BUT NOT YET. I SUSPECT THAT HE AT LEAST HALF HOPES THE BOMBING WILL WEAKEN BOTH KARADJIC AND MLADIC AND STRENGTHEN HIS HAND AGAINST THE BOSNIAN SERBS. (REVEALINGLY, HE HAS NEVER EXPRESSED EVEN THE SMALLEST CONCERN FOR THE PEOPLE WHO MIGHT BE KILLED OR WOUNDED IN THESE ATTACKS.)

9. IF WE READ HIS BODY LANGUAGE HERE CORRECTLY, THE BOMBING - IN ITS CURRENT PHASE, AT LEAST - WILL GAIN  
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FROM PICK HOLBROOKE

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US MORE ON THE MAP ISSUES THAN WE ORIGINALLY SUSPECTED - BECAUSE MILOSEVIC DOESN'T CARE AS MUCH AS WE THOUGHT ABOUT THE MAP. IT WILL BE LESS LIKELY TO GAIN MUCH ON THE POLITICAL ISSUES, PRECISELY BECAUSE HE DOES CARE ABOUT THEM MORE - THEY SET THE STAGE FOR HIS LONG TERM GOAL, WHICH HE HAS NOW DEFERRED FOR A FUTURE DATE, BUT WHICH HAS NOT CHANGED.

10. IN CONCLUSION, BOMBING THIS WEEK WHILE WE GO TO GENEVA WILL BE A PLUS IN THE TALKS THEMSELVES, IN STRENGTHENING OUR OVERALL IMAGE IN EUROPE, WITH SARAJEVO, AND IN PARTIALLY RESTORING SOME OF THE EVENTS OF RECENT YEARS. IT WILL GIVE US A BETTER CHANCE FOR PROGRESS, AND PERHAPS - IF THE UN AND NATO CAN BE MANAGED CORRECTLY - A FUTURE BARGAINING

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CHIP.

11. THIS RECOMMENDATION SHOULD NOT BE READ AS A CALL FOR A SUSTAINED AND PROLONGED CAMPAIGN. WE ARE NOT SARAJEVO'S AIR FORCE AND THIS IS NOT "ROLLING THUNDER." WE WOULD RESERVE ANY JUDGEMENT ON THE LARGER ISSUES.

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